4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4



When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

*Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Larquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Inca-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4



683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llaneas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delictu* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 621 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4



other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaŋkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

### DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a spark of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

### MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 864 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

### DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not w[illegible] I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

### IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [595] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that *he* was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish
837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
626 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would